

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 0835

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD; USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD; VIENNA FOR LEDSKY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY
SUBJECT: INCREASED FLEXIBILITY IN ARCHBISHOP'S POSITIONS

REF: LONDON 04670 (DTG 211741Z MAR 77)

1. IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT ARCHBISHOP
MAKARIOS MADE A FUNDAMENTAL DECISION AFTER THE AMERICAN
ELECTIONS IN THE FALL OF 1976 TO TURN AWAY FROM INSISTENCE
ON A RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES, LONG STRUGGLE, ETC., AND, WITH
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U.S. HELP, TO SEEK AN AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOT
COMMUNITY ON THE BASIS OF A BIZONAL FEDERATION. WE BELIEVE
THAT HE DECIDED ON THE OUTLINES OF A BEST POSSIBLE
SOLUTION (FOR GREEK CYPRIOTS) AND THAT HIS PUBLIC
AND PRIVATE ACTIONS IN THE PAST THREE OR FOUR MONTHS WERE
CAREFULLY FORMULATED STEPS TO CONDITION THE GREEK CYPRIOT
BODY POLITIC GRADUALLY TOWARD ACCEPTANCE OF A SOLUTION

INVOLVING REAL COMPROMISES WITH THE TURK CYPRIOTS.

2. WE FIRST BEGAN TO NOTICE THE CHANGE IN THE ARCHBISHOP'S POSITION IN DECEMBER 1976 WHEN HE STARTED TO RETREAT PUBLICLY FROM HIS EARLIER FORMULATION THAT A SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM MUST BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH "PERTINENT U.N. RESOLUTIONS." HE BEGAN TO SAY THAT IT WAS ONLY NECESSARY THAT A SETTLEMENT SHOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE U.N. FRAMEWORK.

3. SIMILARLY, THE TWO MEETINGS WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH IN JAN AND FEB REPRESENT A DEPARTURE FROM THE ARCHBISHOP'S PUBLIC POLICY OF A YEAR AGO WHICH WAS TO CHARACTERIZE DENKTASH AS A SIMPLE TOOL OF ANKARA, TO REFUSE TO MEET WITH HIM, AND TO INSIST THAT ONLY A MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ANKARA WOULD BE USEFUL.

4. MAKARIOS' INTERVIEW WITH THE GUARDIAN (REFTEL) STRIKES US AS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S DESIRE TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY BEFORE VIENNA VI. THE INTERVIEW APPEARS TO SIGNAL TWO SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURES FROM HIS EARLIER CONTENTION THAT ALL REFUGEES MUST RETURN: (A) THE ARCHBISHOP'S ESTIMATE THAT ONLY A SMALL MINORITY OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES (10 PERCENT) ARE LIKELY TO WANT TO RETURN TO THE TURKISH ZONE AND (B) HIS STATEMENT THAT THOSE WHO CHOOSE NOT TO RETURN WILL BE COMPENSATED.

5. EMBOFF LEARNED MAR 23 FROM COLIN SMITH OF OBSERVER THAT IN VERY RECENT INTERVIEW WITH SMITH, ARCHBISHOP CONFIDENTIAL

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ACKNOWLEDGED IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE TO IMPLEMENT FREEDOMS OF SETTLEMENT, MOVEMENT, AND PROPERTY IMMEDIATELY UPON THE SIGNING OF AN AGREEMENT. ACCORDING TO SMITH, MAKARIOS HAD INDICATED HE UNDERSTOOD TURK CYPRIOT RESERVATIONS AND WOULD BE WILLING TO AGREE TO SETTLEMENT WHICH ACCEPTED THESE FREEDOMS IN PRINCIPLE IF THE SETTLEMENT PROVIDED FOR THEM TO BE IMPLEMENTED GRADUALLY.

6. WE DO NOT WISH TO OVERSTATE THE CASE: ANY POLICY SHIFT BY THE ARCHBISHOP IS SUBTLE AND GUARDED. BUT IT APPEARS TO US THAT HIS PRIVATE COMMITMENT TO A SERIOUS, SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATION IS NOW BEING MATCHED AND SUPPLEMENTED BY PUBLIC STATEMENTS DESIGNED TO INCREASE HIS NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY AND TO PREPARE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY FOR WHAT IT CAN REALISTICALLY EXPECT TO ACHIEVE IN A SETTLEMENT.

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Message Attributes

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